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2 The Border as a Site of Sociolinguistic Inquiry Findings from Northern Catalonia.

James Hawkey

If border studies are to be more than a collection of fascinating case studies, or more than a subfield within the parent disciplines of its practitioners, they must address a set of unified thematic, conceptual and theoretical concerns and questions. This does not necessarily mean a quest for a general theory of borders ... But it does imply an ability to be open to the work of others not in one's own field. (Wilson & Donnan, 2012: 14)

1 Introduction

Scholars of borderland scenarios come from a range of disciplinary backgrounds. In this chapter, it will be revealed that political and cultural historians, geographers and anthropologists have all offered their own complementary perspectives. But to what extent do we, as sociolinguists, draw inspiration from the theoretical advances of our colleagues in other fields?

The notion of the border is central to a discussion of language and (im)mobilities, as a locus of movement (a line to be crossed – a bridge) and inertia (an untraversable barrier – a wall). Cunningham and Heyman (2004: 293) conceptualise borderlands in terms of a ‘mobilities-enclosures continuum’, with the border acting as not only a place of ‘enclosure’ (entailing restriction of movement and delimitation of territory), but also as a site of ‘mobility’ (with cross-border collaborative initiatives, including flows of people, goods, services and ideas). The current chapter starts by providing a history of border studies, followed by a brief overview of the burgeoning role played by border communities in sociolinguistic studies. We will then turn our attention to the case of Northern Catalonia, a multilingual area of southern France, with two autochthonous languages – French and Catalan. The data under discussion comes from a language attitudes questionnaire, and focuses on participant responses to questions of Catalan identity and issues of cross-border mobility. The discussion section departs from the majority of recent sociolinguistic output in its usage of current advances in the field of border studies. This paves the way for increased interdisciplinary dialogue and a more holistic approach to the sociolinguistic study of borderlands.

2 What is a border?

Political geographers have for many years attempted to arrive at theories of border construction and classification, to varied degrees of success. Ratzel (1897) puts forth an early view of boundaries as dynamic, with any stability being ultimately fleeting as nations expand and contract, due to territorial disputes. Understandably, a century of conflict and changes in the political landscape have meant that Ratzel's theories have not stood the test of time. Indeed, subsequent scholars (Prescott, 1987: 10) underline the frequency with which there have been huge changes in political force on either side of an international border which has, nonetheless, remained stable. To this can be added cases like the ‘Velvet Divorce’ of Czechoslovakia, where new borders were created by consensus, and with a relative lack of tension. After Ratzel, Lapradelle (1928) and Jones (1945) go on to taxonomise and identify different phases of border development, but did not pursue investigation of the potential rules governing border creation, since ‘each boundary is almost unique and therefore many generalizations are of doubtful validity’ (Jones, 1945: vi).

Prescott (1987) provides a thorough overview of border situations worldwide, not only comparing different continents' land borders in light of their respective histories of nation building, but also discussing the interplay between the concepts mentioned above (such as the role of the boundary in the development of its associated border landscape), and highlighting a number of recurrent themes that had dominated the discourse of border studies thus far, such as the impact of the boundary on culture, economics and policy. Rumley and Minghi (1991) revisit the idea of border landscape in an attempt to clarify its scope of reference, since until this point 'many human geographers have only a vague and hazy notion of what the concept might entail' (Rumley & Minghi, 1991: 1). They find that, in order to fully understand and successfully describe the changing nature of border landscapes, studies must take into account the manifestation of social, economic and political differences on either side of the boundary, as well as the degree of co-operation between the two adjacent polities (Rumley & Minghi, 1991: 295-296). They highlight that subsequent work would need to discuss, among other aspects, attitudes and perceptions of the border (to be addressed later in this article), and unlike Jones (1945), strive for a potential border landscape theory which draws on extensive cross-cultural comparative data (Rumley & Minghi, 1991: 297). In the 1990s, borders start to attract attention from non-geographers, while within geography itself, the post-structuralist notion that space is socially produced and constructed, rather than simply pre-existing, impacts approaches to border studies (Van Houtum, Kramsch & Zierhofer, 2005: 4). In the 2000s, the two counteracting forces of globalisation and post-9/11 fear lead to renewed interest in the study of borders, and modern notions of *b/ordering space* (cf. Van Houtum, Kramsch & Zierhofer, 2005) appear in order to bridge disciplines and make sense of the myriad roles played by borders in the modern world. It is frequently posited that we live in an increasingly borderless world, be this due to the existence of transnational bodies like the European Union, or even our ability to communicate and interact online, thereby transcending national boundaries. However, Paasi (2005: 28) stresses the continued importance of boundaries as 'means and media for organizing social space where the questions of power, knowledge, agency and social structures become crucial.'

Contemporary advances in anthropology had conceptualised borders as cultural and symbolic constructs, which allowed for a 'de-linking of identity and geography in a post-modern world of new flexibilities and flows' (Cunningham & Heyman, 2004: 290). Borders were now de-territorialised, and cultural 'border theory' was invoked alongside historical and geographical 'border studies'. Key scholars (Wilson & Donnan, 1998) warned against the blurring of border theory and border studies, while advocating holistic stances that integrate both cultural and empirical approaches to borders. In response, Cunningham and Heyman (2004) put forth a 'mobilities-enclosures continuum' as a means of capturing the myriad qualities of border situations. Border theory is predicated on the idea of movement, which is often articulated through the border as a site of crossing. However, Cunningham and Heyman (2004) argue that the movement we see in border scenarios is not solely exemplified by such mobility, but also by processes of enclosure that limit movements of people, materials and ideas. Borders are thus loci of mobility (places to be crossed) and enclosure (devices of containment), and appreciation of this duality allows for scholars to better understand parallels between cultural and empirical findings in border situations.

Recently, the *Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (Wastl-Walter, 2011) and the *Companion to Border Studies* (Wilson & Donnan, 2012) highlight the interdisciplinary approach which characterises twenty-first century border studies, and leads with the question that has arguably plagued the field since its inception: is a generalised theory of border construction and evolution at all possible? Paasi (2011: 27-28) argues that not only is a general border studies theory unattainable, but also undesirable given both the uniqueness of borders and the fact that, as objects of study, they cannot be isolated from their sociocultural setting, and thus any border theory could only ever be a small part of a broader sociocultural theory.

Borders in sociolinguistics

The notion of boundaries has long been central to linguistic study, but it is only more recently that sociolinguists have started to exploit the potential of the border as a theoretical construct with the ability to highlight commonalities between analogous research situations. Since the late nineteenth century, dialectology has been concerned with boundaries in the form of isoglosses. Subsequent linguistic studies focusing on boundaries have similarly largely been concerned with isoglosses, and work in linguistics has thus been somewhat removed from the issues encountered by political (and other) geographers, anthropologists, literary and cultural scholars detailed above.

The most extensive sociolinguistic work to date that primarily addresses borders is the *Accents and Identities on the Scottish/English Border* (AISEB) project. Among the numerous outputs of this project is the much-needed volume *Language, Borders and Identity* (2014), which is the first collection to bring together contributions from leading sociolinguists on the language situations of borderlands. In this work, Watt and Llamas (2014: 2) draw our attention to the marked lack of engagement with linguistic issues in the border studies literature to date. They remind any readers who may not be familiar with sociolinguistics that, far from being a ‘distraction from weightier matters concerning, say, informants’ political leanings, the fates of trans-border migrants, or borderlanders’ socio-psychological orientations towards ‘self’ and ‘other’ (Watt & Llamas, 2014: 2), variationist studies offer invaluable insight into the practices of those living in border communities. Indeed, current scholarship on language attitudes stresses the importance of integrating findings on actual linguistic practice into work examining ideologies (Schilling, 2014: 107), and by extension identity. Watt and Llamas’ contribution is therefore invaluable to border studies in general, since input ranging from fine-grained sociophonetic analysis (cf. Watt et al., 2014) to linguistic landscape studies (cf. Kallen, 2014) all goes towards painting a more representative picture of life and identity in borderland scenarios.

It is of course impossible to give an overview of borders in sociolinguistics, however brief, without addressing the field of *perceptual dialectology* (cf. Preston, 1989), which discusses (among other things) the findings of participants’ own placing of perceived linguistic borders. These subjective borders, drawn by each individual participant, in many ways have little in common with those addressed by the majority of non-linguistic border studies scholars. Bert and Costa (2014: 197-199) remind us that certain natural and/or cultural limits (in their case, the river Rhône) are highly salient in discourses of identity as clear boundaries between groups, even though these sometimes correspond to no clear linguistic division; while people are completely unaware of the presence of key linguistic isoglosses (as between traditionally Francoprovençal and Occitan speaking areas). By this token, a person can be a (linguistic) borderlander, and be completely unaware of it! We can therefore see that the borders addressed by linguists are not necessarily the same in nature as those examined by political geographers and other scholars in border studies.

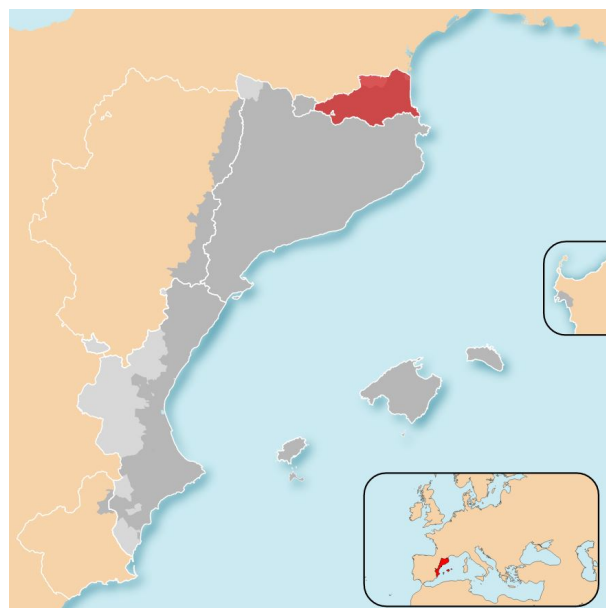
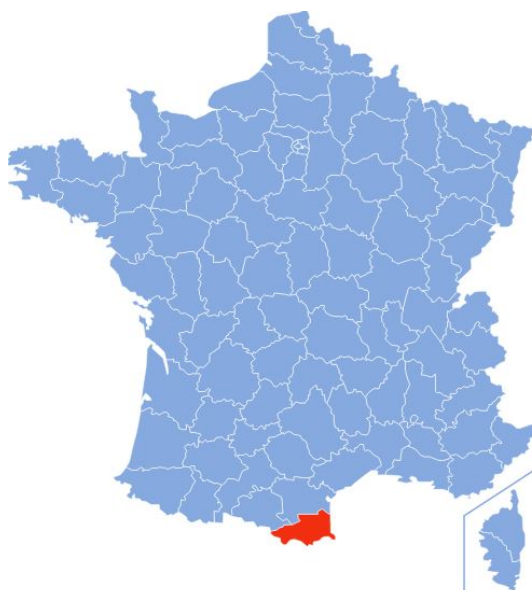
This is not to say that there is no overlap in scope between different disciplinary approaches to borderlands. Anthropologists Wilson and Donnan (1998) devote a whole edited volume to *Border Identities*, since the identity of borderlanders is of central interest to anthropologists, as well as sociolinguists. This work (like others before it) recognises the heterogeneity of borderland situations and the consequent problems inherent in searching for any kind of unified border theory, but given its social-anthropological focus, views borders as a useful tool for arriving of new theories of centres and their relationship to peripheries (Wilson & Donnan, 1998: 25). The notion of the periphery has only very recently been taken up as a locus of study in sociolinguistics (cf. Pietikäinen et al., 2016). However, in spite of similar concerns (such as issues of borderland identity), the differences faced by border scholars in various disciplines have arguably led to a certain theoretical distance between

border studies scholars and linguists. Few leading border theorists are cited in recent sociolinguistic output concerning borders, and linguists are similarly overlooked in the wider border studies literature. Notable exceptions are Custred (1995, 1997, 2011), which is among the only output to extensively draw on political geographical advances in border studies to discuss diachronic language border change and theoretical advances in contact linguistics. A more discursive approach was taken by the *EU Border Identities* project (2000-2002), and among the many scholarly outputs of this consortium can be found informative qualitative ethnographic insight into language ideologies (cf. Carli et al., 2003). However, beyond these contributions, work is scant.

The heterogeneous analytical approaches to border studies prompted me to host the *Borderland Linguistics Conference* at the University of Bristol in 2016. While all talks addressed language issues to some extent, presentations came from a broad disciplinary background, including geography, anthropology, history, dialectology, variationism, graphic design, cultural studies and migration studies. This deliberate breadth of knowledge allowed for many interdisciplinary parallels to be drawn, but again, the theoretical divide between linguistic and non-linguistic approaches to borderlands was palpable. This chapter attempts to therefore work towards bridging this gap, by integrating some of the questions and developments that have arisen from political geographical and anthropological takes on borders into a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of a contemporary European border situation. This will allow for future exploration of the benefits and drawbacks of a more holistic scholarly view of borderlands and their linguistic characteristics, which is of vital importance in discussions of language and (im)mobilities.

Findings from the France-Spain border

The border situation under discussion in this chapter is that of the French *département* of Pyrénées-Orientales, found at the eastern end of the international border of France and Spain. The traditional autochthonous language of this area is Catalan (though the population now mostly comprises monolingual French speakers), and as such, approximately corresponds to the cultural entity of Northern Catalonia, which in turn forms part of the wider grouping of Catalan-speaking regions known as the *Països Catalans* (the Catalan countries). This border region thus constitutes a (limitedly) multilingual situation, with two autochthonous varieties present in the cultural and linguistic landscape of the area (French and Catalan), in addition to a number of languages used by immigrants and their descendants.



Map 1 (left): The position of the Pyrénées-Orientales (red) within France (© Wikimedia Commons user Marmelad). **Map 2 (right):** The position of the Pyrénées-Orientales (red) within the Països Catalans (© Wikimedia Commons user Mutxamel)

When exploring notions of perceived peripherality (as discussed in Wilson & Donnan, 1998: 25), Northern Catalonia is highly informative. The main city of Perpignan finds itself nearly 850 kilometres from Paris, but under 200 kilometres from Barcelona. Just over the border from Northern Catalonia lies the autonomous community of Catalonia, arguably the centre of the Països Catalans, due to the cultural hub of Barcelona, and a high level of Catalan language competence. There is a great deal of branding in Northern Catalonia which stresses the Catalan credentials of the region, such as the official logo of the departmental capital naming it *Perpignan La Catalane* / *Perpinyà La Catalana*. A recent linguistic landscape study revealed that while the presence of the Catalan language in signage was low (1.4% of the sample), the use of the language was highly symbolic and frequently combined with other semiotic devices, including usage of the Catalan colours of red and yellow, and historical symbols like the *quatre barres* ('four stripes') (Blackwood & Tufi, 2015: 93-95). The area has by far the lowest generalised level of Catalan language competence of any of the Països Catalans, and as such, most inhabitants of Northern Catalonia share no mother tongue with most other residents of the Països Catalans, thereby heightening their peripheral status.

The international boundary is also of historical and cultural significance to Northern Catalonia. The border was fixed in 1659 with the Treaty of the Pyrenees. The French text of the Treaty set the boundary as the Pyrenees mountains 'which anciently divided the Gauls from the Spains', while the Spanish version talks of using the mountains which 'commonly had always' separated the two then kingdoms (Sahlins, 1989: 44). This 'ancient' versus 'common' debate understandably led to a number of claims and counterclaims concerning the actual placement of the boundary, particularly since the Pyrenees are far less of a single coherent chain at their eastern end than in other places. The resultant border is not quite as intuitive as the initial treaties may suggest, with the single geographical entity of the Cerdagne/Cerdanya valley being split in two, and the tiny Spanish exclave of Llívia entirely surrounded by France. While the location of the boundary has been uncontentious for centuries, the fact that Northern Catalonia is territorially separated from the rest of the Països Catalans – an entity of which it fervently claims membership – has undoubtedly shaped the culture and outlook of this multiply peripheral region.

The data under consideration in this chapter is drawn from a language attitudes questionnaire distributed throughout Northern Catalonia in 2016. Participants were presented with a series of statements concerning language and identity in Northern Catalonia and were asked to respond on a Likert-like scale from 1 (completely agree) to 5 (totally disagree). The current chapter first focuses on a subset of these questions which is specifically concerned with borderland linguistic identity issues, before discussing any wider survey results which make specific reference to cross-border migration. The sample consists of a total of 291 participants, and questionnaires were either administered face-to-face (usually in the participant's workplace) or online. Participants were asked for their age, sex, place of birth, current place of residence, occupation (to serve as a proxy for social class), mother's place of birth and father's place of birth, as well as to self-report their level of Catalan in the four language competences of understanding, speaking, reading and writing: these results were given on a Likert-like scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (perfectly). Participants offered information concerning their use of different languages, by identifying which language(s) they used with family, with friends and at work: French, Catalan, both or other (whereupon the participant was asked to specify). 71.5% of the sample (N=208) is female, and 28.5% (N=83) is male, with testing revealing the high percentage of female informants not to have an effect on the results. Participant age ranges from 16 to 78 (mean age 37.1; standard

deviation 16.05; median age 33). Participant occupations were classified using the third edition of the *Nomenclature des professions et catégories socioprofessionnelles* (INSEE, 2003). Based on this taxonomy, I grouped participants into one of nine occupational categories. The data was quantitatively analysed by means of multiple mixed-effects linear regression modelling (LRM) using the Rbrul interface (Johnson, 2008) in the R environment. Mixed models take into account both fixed effects (such as ascribed membership to a macrosocial category, like *age*, *sex* or *occupation group*) and random effects which are not accurately replicable (such as the differences between individual participants or individual question responses when a composite analysis of different questions is being undertaken). Rbrul achieves this far more elegantly and straightforwardly than other leading statistical packages (Johnson, 2009: 364-365), and is a highly regarded resource in the sociolinguistic academic community. Language attitudes studies are typically quantitative in nature, with complementary qualitative findings proving useful for investigation into related ideological concerns. For reasons of space, I have decided to focus solely on quantitative results in this chapter, but offer an extensive mixed-methods approach to attitudes and ideologies in Northern Catalonia in Hawkey (forthcoming). Moreover, the anthropological and cultural studies grounding of recent advances in border studies (and border theory) means that the application of border theories in the analysis of quantitative attitudinal data constitutes a relatively radical departure. In this way, this chapter encourages a rapprochement between border theories and even the more quantitative elements of sociolinguistics.

3 Issues of borderland linguistic identity

The questionnaire items to be analysed in this section are the following:

- Q18. There are important differences between the Catalan spoken in Barcelona and that which is spoken here.
- Q19. People from Barcelona look down on the Catalan spoken here.
- Q20. I have a lot in common with Catalans from the other side of the border.

In the present analysis, each questionnaire item is addressed in turn. Linear regression modelling (LRM) was used to determine the explanatory potential of different independent variables, which are either social in nature (i.e. the different macro-categories outlined above of participant sex, age, occupation, place of birth, place of residence, origin of parents, etc.) or are concerned with self-reported level of Catalan language competence in the four skill areas of understanding, speaking, reading and writing. As regards the differences between the varieties of Catalan spoken in Northern Catalonia and Barcelona (Q18), the mean response was 2.232, corresponding to a slight agreement with the stimulus statement. Of the social variables, only participant age emerged as statistically significant ($p=0.0105$). The magnitude of the coefficient is -0.016, meaning that for every year increase in participant age, their response is predicted to drop by 0.016 on the Likert scale. For example, a participant aged 75 is predicted to give a score that is 0.64 points (out of 5) lower than somebody aged 35 (that is to say 0.016×40 years). Remembering that low scores indicate agreement with the stimulus statement, this means that older participants are marginally more inclined to agree that there are important differences between the variety of Catalan spoken in their region of Northern Catalonia and that used in the city of Barcelona, nearly 200 kilometres south of the international border. Turning to the self-reported language competence variables, only the skill area of understanding Catalan proved to be statistically significant. Again, the magnitude of the co-efficient is low (-0.168) given that competence is measured on a five-point scale in the questionnaire. This means that for every point higher (of 5) that a person rates their ability to understand Catalan, their response will drop by 0.168. Therefore, somebody who rates their ability to understand Catalan as 5 (excellent) is predicted to give a

score on average 0.672 lower than a person who evaluates their understanding of Catalan as 1 (non-existent). This leads to a number of interim conclusions based on both social and language competence factors. This question measures the perception of difference between two varieties of (by general consensus) one language, separated by an international border. Perception of these linguistic differences is thus inextricably linked to awareness of the border that separates them. If we determine therefore that acknowledgment of a degree of divergence between Barcelona Catalan and Catalan as spoken in Northern Catalonia entails a perception of the border dividing these two areas, we see that older participants perceive the border more markedly than younger ones. Moreover, those who profess a higher level of understanding of Catalan also perceive the border more acutely, though this is not the case for the other language skill areas.

The questionnaire also elicited opinions concerning perceived value judgements about the varieties of Catalan spoken on either side of the border. Upon reading the statement 'People from Barcelona look down on the Catalan spoken here' (Q19), participants are presented with the peripherality of their own region, as opposed to the Catalan cultural and linguistic centre of Barcelona. The multiply peripheral nature of Northern Catalonia (within both France and the *Països Catalans*) has been referenced above, and examining border regions in terms of centre-periphery relations has often been a tool to allow for better understanding of borderland identities (cf. Wilson & Donnan, 1998). Responses to this stimulus sentence thus allow us to ascertain the degree of perceived peripherality of Northern Catalonia (by its inhabitants) in relation to Barcelona, arguably the centre of the *Països Catalans*. Interestingly, on average, participants do not appear to feel a sense of peripherality in relation to other Catalan speaking areas, and the mean response to this question was 2.867, which corresponds to 'neither agreeing nor disagreeing' with the stimulus statement. Of the social variables, only 'participant place of birth' emerged as statistically significant. However, this did not reveal a clear pattern in respondent behaviour, since the magnitude of the co-efficient for the only category with a high number of tokens (Perpignan city, N=111) was extremely low (-0.039) thus indicating no sizeable correlation between the variables. None of the self-reported Catalan language competence variables proved to be of statistical significance. In short, this means that participants expressed neither agreement nor clear disagreement with the proposal that Northern Catalonia was somehow linguistically peripheral or inferior within the *Països Catalans*.

Finally, in this section, we will examine the degree of perceived cross-border commonalities between members of the wider cultural entity of the *Països Catalans* (Q20). The analysis of social factors revealed the following factors to be of statistical significance: 'participant mother's place of birth' ($p=0.0101$), 'participant occupation' ($p=0.0208$) and 'participant place of birth' ($p=0.0262$). Focusing on the categories with the most tokens, participants with mothers from northern France were generally less likely to perceive commonalities between themselves and Catalans from Spain (co-efficient 0.296 for Île-de-France, and 0.232 for northern France (other)). Participants with mothers from southern France and Catalan-speaking areas of Spain were more likely to report a sense of cross-border pan-Catalan identity (co-efficient -0.436 for southern France (other), -0.458 for greater Perpignan, -0.473 for Vallespir, -0.507 for Roussillon, -0.538 for Conflent, -0.632 for Perpignan city, and -1.306 for Catalonia (Spain)).¹ As regards participant occupation, students were the least likely to report a feeling of pan-Catalan identity (co-efficient 0.477), while highly skilled professionals were highly likely to do so (-0.498). As with Q19, the only reliable results for participant place of birth come from the category of Perpignan city, since all other categories have low token numbers; participants born in Perpignan display a slight tendency towards agreement with the notion of pan-Catalan identity (co-efficient -0.165). The only self-reported Catalan competence factor to prove statistically significant was that of 'understanding Catalan' ($p=0.0099$), with those participants claiming a greater ability to understand Catalan showing more tendency to agree with the notion of cross-border Catalan

identity (co-efficient -0.205). In short, these results show that family origin is of importance in the transmission of a sense of common identity within the Països Catalans, and participants with mothers from the region (and indeed, the wider south of France) are more likely to claim Catalan identity. It is also noteworthy that this finding does not apply to the origin of participants' fathers, which was of no statistical significance. An occupational divide is also seen between highly-trained middle-class professionals and university students, with the former claiming a sense of Catalan identity far more than the latter. We also see that participants born in Perpignan show a slight tendency towards claiming common ground with Catalans from Spain, and that claiming a degree of understanding of the Catalan language also favours agreement with the notion of pan-Catalan identity.

4 Cross-border migration and the wider questionnaire results

The questionnaire asked participants for opinions on a range of language attitudes issues relating to French and Catalan in Northern Catalonia. In addition to the stimulus sentences regarding cross-border identity discussed above, the survey included items concerning the potential status and solidarity values² of both autochthonous language varieties, as well as current language-in-education policy decisions in the region. Given the present volume's focus on multilingualism and mobility, we will briefly examine the instances where cross-border migration from Spain into France proved to be of statistical significance in the analysis of the full range of the questionnaire data.³

Tests revealed a correlation between attitudes towards Catalan on the status dimension and the place of birth of the participant's parents ($p=0.017$ for fathers, $p=0.044$ for mothers). Those with parents born in the autonomous community of Catalonia (i.e. just south of the international border) were likely to hold favourable opinions regarding the Catalan language on the status dimension (coefficient -0.321 for those with fathers born in Catalonia, -0.867 for mothers). Cross-border migration into Northern Catalonia has also led to inhabitants with origins from other, non-Catalan speaking parts of Spain. Participants with parents from these areas trend somewhat differently to those with parents from the autonomous community of Catalonia. Participants with fathers from non-Catalan speaking Spain patterned as above, offering favourable views of Catalan on the status dimension (coefficient -0.643). However, those with mothers from non-Catalan speaking Spain showed radically different tendencies, with a propensity to rate Catalan negatively on the status dimension (coefficient 0.737). These results therefore reveal differences in trends not only between each parent, but also between Catalan and non-Catalan speaking areas of Spain.

The linear regression modelling (LRM) also revealed that participants' opinions concerning language-in-education policy in Northern Catalonia are linked to issues of cross-border migration from Spain, specifically concerning the place of birth of the participant's mother ($p=0.038$). Those with mothers born in the autonomous community of Catalonia showed a strong tendency towards agreement with statements that Catalan should be taught in Northern Catalonia, and that there was at present not enough Catalan language provision in the education system (coefficient -0.787). However, those with mothers born in non-Catalan speaking areas of Spain were sharply inclined to disagree with the statement (coefficient 0.768). As above, we see a clear division between participants with mothers from Catalan-speaking regions of Spain showing support for the safeguarding of the language in the education system, and those with mothers from other areas of Spain not favouring the teaching of Catalan in Northern Catalonia.

5 Discussion

The data has raised a number of interesting questions concerning language, migration and borderland identity. The present discussion will make inroads towards bridging the analytical

distance between borderland linguistics and other disciplinary approaches to borders by adopting framing devices typical of border studies. The notion of *b/ordering* will be invoked to determine the ways in which the data provides support for the idea of 'border as process', rather than border as artefact. The evidence for hybridised border cultures in Northern Catalonia will be considered, as will the role of centre-periphery relations (a key theme of border scholarship). Finally, the adoption of Cunningham and Heyman's (2004) mobilities-enclosures continuum will allow for the integration of border studies scholarship into a discussion of language attitudinal data, which in turn will elucidate the relationship between multilingualism and (im)mobilities.

Recent developments in border studies have moved from the idea of the border as solely a static 'product' of geopolitical circumstances, to integrate a conception of border as 'process' (Wilson & Donnan, 2012: 13). Borders are thus repeatedly and performatively enacted and reproduced, and the aforementioned notion of *b/ordering* (cf. Van Houtum, Kramsch & Zierhofer, 2005) captures the ongoing, processual nature of the border. Utilising the notion of bordering, 'borders are constantly made through ideology, symbols, cultural mediation, discourses, political institutions, *attitudes* and everyday forms of border transcending and border confirming' (Scott, 2012: 86-7, my emphasis). A number of results of the present study can be seen as clear examples of the process of bordering, particularly when looking at attitudes arguably passed from parent to child. The finding that a sense of pan-Catalan identity was more likely to be held by residents of Northern Catalonia with mothers from either the area itself or other Catalan-speaking areas is an example of ongoing 'border transcending', with feelings of cross-border identity passed from parent to child. Similarly, the fact that participants with Catalan parents are more likely to hold the view that Catalan should be safeguarded in the education system is an example of the processual nature of border transcending – attitudes formed across generations play a role in the degree of perception of the international border. However, the data reveals that such processes of bordering not only exist to transcend the border, but also to reinforce it. Participants with parents born in non-Catalan speaking areas of Spain were shown to give Catalan low evaluations on the status dimension, concerning both general language attitudes and language-in-education policy decisions (that is to say, this group tended towards believing that Catalan should not be an educational priority in Northern Catalonia). As such, these participants' Spanish parents are arguably (somewhat ironically) perpetuating French state and linguistic hegemony a generation later, through views passed down to their children.⁴ Participants of (non-Catalan speaking) Spanish descent accord Catalan little status, in contrast to the situation seen over the border for the language. Thus, we have an ongoing process of 'border confirming'.

The presence of multiple counteracting processes is posited as a characteristic trait of borders. From a cultural studies perspective, scholars often pointed to a hybridised culture typically found at borders (cf. García Canclini, 1995), before this was subsequently challenged and critiqued (cf. Vila, 2003). A current view (Heyman, 2012: 51) holds that 'border cultures' are made up of a number of culture-forming processes, some of which reinforce the border (such as the nationalistic content of state education systems on either side of a border), while others undermine it (such as personal and professional initiatives of cross-border cooperation). These multiple cultures are not necessarily the properties of different, co-existing sectors of society, and indeed can co-occur within one individual (Heyman, 2012: 48), as can be seen with regards to self-reported Catalan language competence. The data shows that those who claim to understand Catalan to a higher level are more likely to feel a sense of pan-Catalan, cross-border identity. Elsewhere (Hawkey, forthcoming) I maintain that claiming to understand Catalan is a symbolic device, rather than a genuine expression of competence, since it is easier to feign understanding than for the more active language skills (such as speaking); and participants are unlikely to be asked to demonstrate a receptive form of language competence (such as understanding). Indeed, the

hypothesis that fewer residents of Northern Catalonia actually understand Catalan than claim to do so has been demonstrated empirically (Col·lecció setelCAT, 2007: 75-78). It is thus unsurprising that those who claim to understand Catalan also feel a sense of pan-Catalan cultural identity. Self-proclaimed language competence (even if this is not supported by the participant's ability) is a potential key component of access to this cross-border pan-Catalan culture, which co-exists with the dominant, hegemonic French culture in Northern Catalonia. The wider results of the questionnaire (cf. Hawkey, forthcoming) reveal that claiming a sense of Catalan identity is not necessarily at odds with feelings of French identity, thus offering a clear example of the multiple cultural and identity-forming processes that co-occur in borderlands, and serve to both reaffirm and undercut the border.

Centre-periphery relations were of key importance in first wave of border anthropological studies (cf. Donnan & Wilson, 1988: 25). However, more recent work has shifted focus to view 'margins as the new centres' through paying close attention to the cultural complexities of borderland peoples (cf. Horstmann & Wadley, 2006). The problematic nature of peripherality is highlighted in the data, since the residents of Northern Catalonia do not report feelings of being on the margins of the Països Catalans, in spite of not only their geopolitical situation (being on the edge of the territory, under the jurisdiction of a different nation-state), but also the language competence profile of the region (possessing a much lower level of Catalan language competence than in other areas of the Països Catalans). The fact that an apparently canonical example of a peripheral territory should not display overt attitudes that reflect this, is one of many reasons why notions of peripherality cannot be taken at face value, and why the first wave of border studies needed to move beyond such limiting concepts.

The notion of a mobilities-enclosures continuum proves of great explanatory potential when interpreting the empirical questionnaire findings. The simultaneity of mobility and enclosure is evident in the examination of attitudes of borderlanders in Northern Catalonia, and we have already talked at length about the presence of multiple, counterbalancing ideological processes as a key trait of this region and others like it. However, the adoption of the mobilities-enclosures continuum allows for a clearer view of the nature of the simultaneity in the findings. Generational differences have been observed between older people who arguably have a more acute sense of the border as a site of enclosure than younger people, based on results regarding perceived linguistic differences between Barcelona and Northern Catalonia. Family origin is a significant predictor of feelings of cross-border identity, with participants with mothers from southern France and Catalan-speaking areas of Spain more likely to view the border as a locus of mobility (in an affective sense). Cross-border mobility of ideas is also witnessed in the wider questionnaire results regarding the potential status of the Catalan language. The fact that participants with family from south of the French-Spanish border (where Catalan has a status far superior to that found in Northern Catalonia) evaluate Catalan highly on the status dimension is a strikingly clear example of the border as a site of mobility of ideas. By extension, Northern Catalans who lack these cross-border family ties have a greater propensity to view the boundary as a site of ideological enclosure. Macro-social category membership (in this case, age and geographical origin) thus acts as a determiner of interpretations of the border as locus of enclosure or mobility. The presence of a range of answers to the questions under discussion (with mean responses found near the middle of the Likert scale) reveals that there are differences between borderland community members as to whether the border is primarily a site of mobility or enclosure. Similarly, the different macro-social category profiles for each question show how one person can possess conflicting views as to whether the border is a site of ideological mobility or enclosure, dependent on the question under discussion. Such conflict on the mobilities-enclosures continuum is also reflected in the wider political context. Borderlands have received a significant amount of funding through the European Union Euroregions project, and indeed Northern Catalonia forms part of the Pyrenees-

Mediterranean Euroregion, along with the rest of the former French regions of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées and the autonomous community of Catalonia in Spain. A wider, European rhetoric of cross-border co-operation often conflicts with on-the-ground sentiment, where such trade and movement can represent a threat to local interests (Scott, 2012: 91). Indeed, the notion of a European Union with increasingly porous borders is frequently at odds with the growing presence of far-right nationalist discourse, and Marine Le Pen's *Front National* gained 34.51% of votes in the second round of the 2015 French local elections in the département of Pyrénées-Orientales (L'Internaute, 2015). Success of the Front National (with its emphasis on territorial sovereignty and stringent border controls) in the region speaks to the perception of the border as a site of enclosure, and the politics of the 'policing of enclosure' is of continued interest to scholars in border studies (Cunningham & Heyman, 2004: 294).

The data analysis in this chapter has been informed by the discipline of border studies and the pursuit of border theory. Border scholars have underscored the importance of a number of themes that are central to studies of culture and identity in borderland regions. Firstly, borders are best treated as continual, reified processes rather than static objects, and secondly, borderlands are characterised by hybridised cultures, as well as tensions between centre and periphery. As well as themes, border research has provided useful methodological constructs that have been adopted in the present analysis. Van Houtum, Kramsch and Zierhofer's (2005) *b/ordering space* offers a distinction between 'border transcending' and 'border confirming' processes, echoing Cunningham and Heyman's (2004) mobilities-enclosures continuum. Such frameworks capture the simultaneity of seemingly contradictory ideological currents so frequently found in borderland scenarios. Here, border scholarship has allowed for an incisive interpretation of quantitative attitudinal data. This constitutes an example of a rapprochement of border studies and sociolinguistics, which I hope to see ever more frequently. Borders are characterised by mobility – of people, goods, services and ideas. Border scholarship thus constitutes an invaluable source of analytical tools to be employed in the pursuit of an understanding of multilingualism in situations of mobility and enclosure.

Notes

¹ The areas of Perpignan city, greater Perpignan, Roussillon, Vallespir and Conflent are all found in Northern Catalonia.

² *Status* and *solidarity* are widely held to be the two chief evaluative dimensions of language attitudes (cf. Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Giles & Powesland, 1975; Woolard, 1989; *inter alia*). Status correlates to the instrumental functions of a language, including its perceived power, influence and linguistic capital. Solidarity refers to the integrative capabilities of a language, and how its use can promote and foster social communication and group membership.

³ For the complete questionnaire analysis, see Hawkey (forthcoming).

⁴ Assuming the centrality of the role of the parent in the transmission of these language ideologies follows logically from the fact that this factor was of statistical significance. Moreover, the importance of the family (and early socialisation more generally) in what Bourdieu terms the *habitus* (corresponding loosely to a person's ideological belief system) has often been attested (cf. Bourdieu's *inculcation*, 1991: 12).

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